DEPARTMENT ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY
DIVISION OF STUDIES - WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

project papers

ARCHIVES

On the Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change

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SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

A Summary of the UNESCO Volume

Project papers are intended primarily for the use of consultants and study groups working on these topics. They are issued for information and as a basis of discussion. Comments and additional material on the subject matter of these papers are solicited.

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Notes from the Volume:

"SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION

IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA"

Published by UNESCO, 1956.

Prepared under the auspices of UNESCO
Tensions and Technology Series
By the International African Institute,
London.

This book is a "must" for all serious students of Africa. The intention of the following series of notes is:

1. To indicate its scope and range.

2. To call to the attention of our readers the studies referred to in this book which are most pertinent to our World Council Study of Rapid Social Change.

3. To list many issues which confront Christians in Africa, as seen by experts in various fields.

4. To summarize briefly the theses of some of the articles which are directly relevant to our Study so that those who have no access to the book or who find it difficult to go through the whole 743-page volume may still avail themselves of the insights and knowledge of many experts.

Much of the material included in the book is of a highly technical nature, necessarily filled with professional vocabulary or "jargon". This often makes it discouraging for the layman to read. We have not been able to translate everything into non-professional language, as it would have made this paper much too long. But with a reasonable degree of patience anyone should be able to learn a great deal from the studies included herein.

In 1954 the UNESCO held a research conference on the social implications of industrialization in Africa south of the Sahara. It was known that an enormous change had taken place in African society as a result of increasing industrialization, and many scholars and research agencies had already been engaged in the study of various aspects of this phenomenon.

Prior to the conference, its organizers made a comprehensive survey of the existing literature on the subject, which constitutes Part II of the book. In Part I, Dr. Forde made an introductory survey on the basis of the Findings of the Abidjan Conference and the many studies that made up the preparatory material for this conference. The outline from his survey follows:

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY (pp. 11-50)

By Daryll Forde

Demography

1. The demographic structure of communities in both urban areas and their rural reservoirs.

2. Biological and cultural factors exercising selective effects on rural urban migrations and on the composition of urban social groupings.

3. Methodological problems in the securing and analysis of demographic data.

Varieties of socio-economic structure in urban conditions and the factors involved in their development and differentiation

1. Occupational categories and their relations to: (a) technical conditions of industry; (b) external economic forces; (c) values among participating social groups including entrepreneurs and state organizations.

2. The role of pre-industrial patterns of social grouping, varying degrees of tenacity and erosion in urban conditions.

3. The restructuring of social relations with special reference to the modification of the roles of family, kinship, neighbourhood and class organization.

4. Modifications of status and the stress on new qualifications and criteria for authority within social groups.

5. Degrees of social integration between different ethnic and other groups in various action contexts.

The modification of cultural values in urban life and under industrial conditions.

1. Problems of assessing values and motivations in tribal and urban societies in Africa; the adaptation of psychological tests to non-literate and semi-literate populations; the analysis and systematization of field data provided from observation and verbal statements.

2. The character and diversity of pre-existing value patterns among African populations.

3. Fields and means of African assimilation of Western values and their relation to economic and social status; variable factors in the Western and African sectors; discrepancies between aims; possibilities for change; the role of formal and informal educational institutions.

4. Symbolic significance of (a) traditional and (b) Western patterns of behaviour and the new social differentiations expressed therein.

5. Conflicts of values and their effects on social solidarity, reliability in work and social cooperation.

Comparative assessment of material conditions and of African attitudes to these.

The problem of securing objective and comparable indices with reference to tribal and urban conditions concerning (a) labour effort, nutrition, housing, recreation, etc., (b) objective and subjective assessments of economic security, and (c) psychological rewards and drawbacks.

There are a number of comments in Dr. Forde's survey that are pertinent to the Study of Rapid Social Change. For example, quoting from his observations on "Occupational Patterns" of the African people:

"While urban life and industrial development, in Africa as elsewhere, exert a considerable mutual influence, they are by no means coincident. Some of the urban centres that have grown up in connexion with the development of administration and overseas commerce have so far developed very little industry, whereas certain industries, including some mining and especially plantation and forest industries, are operated in comparatively small and dispersed units, the workers being housed in camps under semi-rural conditions. In many territories, notably in the Belgian Congo and East Africa, there are many wage-earners dispersed over rural areas as workers on farms, plantations and forests. Finally, money incomes are, as has been noted, by no means confined to wage-earning populations. With the great expansion of African-grown export crops, especially during the last 30 years, very extensive regions with large populations, such as the cocoa, groundnut and cotton areas of West Africa and the cotton and coffee growing areas of East Africa, have derived far more of their money incomes from these crops than from employment in Western enterprises."

On "The Role of Non-African Populations", he writes:

"The technical skills and managerial experience of Europeans continue to be indispensable in the modern economic development of Africa. Even where there is no permanent white settlement, the social dominance as well as the political power of the Europeans may still be very great. Nevertheless the response to some of the more intractable problems involved in the restructuring of African societies, especially in urban areas under the impact of technical change and economic development, depends in an important measure on the numbers, roles and aspirations of Europeans as well as Africans.

Then there is, in East Africa and in Natal in South Africa, the large Indian population which, initially as labourers and later as traders, artisans and entrepreneurs, have contributed significantly to industrial and commercial development. They constitute a third and quite separate ethnic category in the populations of such areas. It will therefore be useful at this point to review the demographic picture as a whole and compare the various territories from these points of view."

Also relevant is the Summary Report on the Abidjan Conference. To quote only one short paragraph indicating the direction for future studies:

"The study of the social conditions of urbanization and industrialization in Africa south of the Sahara should be mainly focused on the analysis of social processes and of individual and collective behaviour with reference to the restructuring of urban life.

It is hoped that particular attention will be paid to: (a) the new values and motivations that are emerging within the various social categories; (b) the degree of mutual integration of groups of different ethnic origin and social status; (c) the effects of education, wider knowledge and experience at all levels upon the integration of urban communities; (d) the facilities afforded in this field by administrations, religious institutions and industrial concerns."

PART II.

SURVEY OF RECENT AND CURRENT FIELD STUDIES ON THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INTERTROPICAL AFRICA

By Meran McCulloch (pp. 51.225)

TheIntroduction to this part, under the heading "Scope of the Investigations to be Reviewed", is a technical and theoretical discussion on what the survey includes and its methodology.

The main body is a summary of studies which had been made independently of the Abidjan Conference, some of them as early as the first part of 1930.

Of the studies mentioned in this part, several are of special interest to us.

K.A. Busia, Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi.

Fortes, Steel and Ady, The Ashanti Survey.

G. Balandier, Sociological Survey of the African Town at Brazzaville.

E. Capelle, The African Town at Leopoldville.

S. Comhaire-Sylvain, Food and Leisure among the African Youth of Leopoldville.
Some very interesting observations on the "Kinship" question are made on pp. 115-117.

M. Parker, Political and Social Aspects of Municipal Government in Kenya.

J.M. Davis, ed., Modern Industry and the African.

G. Wilson, Economics of Detribalization in N. Rhodesia.
This book deals with the problems of 1) class and racial groups, 2) degrees of urbanization, 3) marriage, etc.

P. Ibbotson, Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia.

R.E. Phillips, The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand.

E. Hellman, Rooiyard: A Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard.
This book deals with the problems of 1) marriage and kinship, 2) religion and magic, 3) detribalization and Westernization. Dr. Hellman defines three criteria of detribalization which are very helpful:
1) Permanent residence in an area other than that of the chief to whom the man would normally pay allegiance.
2) Complete severance of the relationship with the chief.
3) Independence of rural relatives for support during periods of unemployment or ill-health or for the performance of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life.
It is also important to bear in mind Dr. Hellman's caution that detribalization is not the same thing as assimilation.

M. Hunter, An Urban Community (East London).

Department of Economics, University of Natal, The African Factory Worker (Dunlop Factory, Durban)
Especially noteworthy is the statement here on the difficulty of defining "Urbanization":
1. If it means having wife and children living in an urban area for three years (as it does under the Representation of Natives Act), less than 4.8 per cent of the Dunlop African workers were

urbanized. For old age pension and disability grants, it is necessary to have lived in a "city" area for the previous five years

2. If land ownership in the reserves is taken as a disqualification for urbanization, only some 7 per cent of the Dunlop workers were urbanized. But if the criterion of paying weekly and monthly rentals, instead of yearly rentals, which are characteristic of rural communities, is used instead, then 7.4 per cent were urbanized. In practice, the domicile of the family is becoming the political and economic test of urbanization.
3. If urbanization is taken to mean more or less permanent employment in an urban area, the proportion of the African population who are urbanized has increased steadily and appreciably in recent years. Along with this change is the fact that an increasing proportion of their working lives is spent in urban employment.

J. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life in Bechuanaland.
This book deals with the problems relating to 1) effects of migration, 2) changes in tribal solidarity and discipline, 3) changes in family life.

On the basis of these and many other studies carefully reviewed and summarized, generalizations on the effects of industrialization in Africa are presented in "Comparisons and Conclusions". The impact of industrialization is most conspicuous in terms of

1) Living conditions, especially poverty, malnutrition, disease and overcrowding,
2) Disproportion in urban populations: marked excess of men over women, low proportion of children, and scarcity of old people.
3) Urbanization, which inevitably means detribalization of urban inhabitants; breakdown of the tribal community; frequently disintegration of family solidarity, etc.
4) Emergence of new social classes and radical changes in the basis for social status; to wit, the class distinction is increasingly based on wealth and education rather than the hereditary position in the hierarchial structure of the tribal society.
5) Marriage, especially the conflict between the concept of marriage underlying the civil and Christian marriage and the concept underlying the traditional marriage. Also important is the fact that in industrial society wives and children are an economic liability while in the agricultural economy they are an asset.
6) Kinship and the family: The increasing importance of the elementary family rather than extended kinship group.
7) Associations: The growth and development of voluntary associations that cut across, and possibly replace, kinship and tribal groupings, creating new collective loyalties and obligations.

PART III.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION IN STANLEYVILLE, BELGIAN CONGO:

Preliminary report of the Field Research Team of the International African Institute.

By V. G. Pons, N.Xydias and P. Clément.

Part III consists of:

Section A. The Growth of Stanleyville and the Composition of Its African Population by V. G. Pons (pp. 229-273)

Section B. Labour: Conditions, Attitudes, Training by Nelly Xydias (pp. 275-367)

Section C. Social Patterns of Urban Life by Pierre Clément (pp. 368-492)

Sections A and B are highly technical studies. In his introduction to Section C Pierre Clément concisely summarizes the subjects of 1) kinship, 2) family authority, 3) economic aspect of the household. Under the last heading he describes the economic roles of i) husband and wife, ii) "brothers" on the compound, iii) "fraternity", "neo-fraternity", and neighbourhood associations.

The two papers in Section C are on I. Marriage (pp. 378-438) and II. Other Patterns of Social Life (pp. 439-492).
Especially pertinent to us in the section on "Marriage" are his observations on "Marriage in the Towns" (pp. 389-411), in which he points out that the breakdown of the tribal customs and laws and the adjustment to urban situation are two most crucial issues facing African people in an emerging industrial society. The brief discussion of the two types of urban marriage, specifically i) marriage after betrothal and ii) trial marriage, is an eye-opener in regard to the complexity and depth of the problem facing African people in transition from the tribal to the industrial society.

In the paper on "Other Patterns of Social Life" are discussed the problems of 1) relationships of neighbourhood, friendship and leadership, with interesting findings based on socio-metrical test; 2) relationships between school pupils and 3) social classes: criteria of cohesion. In this connection, especially interesting are his findings on: i) values and criteria determining classifications and ii) possible factors of cohesion in the estimation of Africans. Under the latter he includes tribal membership, social class (évolués and non-évolués; degree of civilization), occupation (often difficult to distinguish from social class), wages, education, religion, mutual understanding or congeniality and good behaviour, decency, etc.

In Section 4 on "Prestige of Occupations", contributed by N. Xydias, the problem relates to the stratification of occupations in the emerging new structure of African society.

In Paper No. 5, "Introduction to the Study of Voluntary Associations", we find many helpful hints from a methodological point of view. Industrial society can hardly function democratically without the healthy development of voluntary associations among its citizens.

Also of interest are the description of such groups as i) the AES (Association of the Evolués of Stanleyville), ii) various "alumni" associations and iii) associations whose membership is based on tribal or ethnic group membership or geographical or administrative areas.

There are a number of other problems in connection with voluntary associations Of crucial importance is the question: Who wields the authority in urban ethnic associations? We may quote a few paragraphs on it here.

"An important question which we can do no more than mention is the question of who wields the authority in urban ethnic associations and of the extent to which those who assume responsibilities are at the same time persons who would hold the rank of chief or elder in their customary environment.

"According to our information, the presidents of tribal, clan and similar groups or associations in the towns are chosen from among persons who have been brought to the notice of their urban "brothers" by their knowledge of custom and the language, their sagacity, honesty and qualities of leadership rather than from among those who would enjoy high rank or special powers in their native environment.

"It may happen, of course, that an urban leader is a person destined later for high honours in his traditional milieu (a case in point is the present of the authorized but subsequently dissolved tribal association to which we referred earlier), but the double function is uncommon. Most heads of ethnic associations are essentially urban leaders. If they go back to their native villages, they return as ordinary members of the community. Their status is thus very different from that of the traditional authorities, who, when they visit the CEC, are received by their "brothers" with the honours -and gifts- to which their situation and prestige entitle them.

" The head of an urban ethnic group need not be well-educated or even understand French, and his occupation counts for little in his selection. An illiterate man may be in charge of one such association, while another may have an évolué at its head.

"There are some who say that certain tribal groups or sub-groups have been started or are directed by scheming clerks who use them to advance their own ambitions or private interests rather than to serve a public from which these clerks are cut off and which they despise. We are not in a position to judge whether such statements have any truth in them." (p.479)

Indicative of the basic nature of many voluntary associations or the fact that these associations are apparently meeting a real need, are the <u>declared aims</u> of voluntary associations.

"One striking thing about native associations is that nearly all of them have as one of their explicit or implicit aims the rendering of mutual aid. It would seem that the first avowed intention of their founders was to create a sort of friendly society. It is certainly not surprising that in an urbanized negro environment associations have not yet acquired the character of our Western associations, some of which, moreover, still concentrate on mutual assistance, but many of which have only cultural, scientific, social, denominational, sporting or other aims.

"Nor is it surprising to find that the spirit of mutual aid and solidarity

which is traditional among the Africans (at least at certain structural levels) has not been eliminated in favour of more specialized purposes". (p. 482 f)

It may be added here that the notes on pp. 485-492 contain highly suggestive hypotheses for further research on the meaning of voluntary associations in urbanized African society.

PART IV.

PAPERS PREPARED FOR THE UNESCO CONFERENCE ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA: (ABIDJAN, SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1954).

We comment on some of the papers which are specifically valuable to our study.

SECTION I. WEST AFRICA.

I. "Urbanism in West and Central Africa: The Scope and Aims of Research" by G. Balandier (pp. 495-510).

This is an important article which deserves very careful study. At the outset the author says that the "rapid and disorderly growth of the towns, the difficulties caused by their inadequate social organization, and their 'long-range' influence, enhanced by the restlessness of the urban population, are factors which, no less than the requirements of schemes for economic and social modernization, have forced the authorities to undertake the investigation of urban problems" (p. 495). There really is a possibility that unchecked expansion of towns may reach the "danger-point", as in the Belgian Congo.

Writing on the methodology of the investigation of urban problems, Dr. Balandier stresses the importance of cooperation of anthropology and sociology and other related disciplines (pp. 496-497).

While urbanization is studied mainly in the context of, or at least closely in relation to, industrialization, it is also important to bear in mind the "colonial" origin of most of the African towns. The fact that most African towns are new and owe their origin to the colonists largely determines their character and makes their problems more or less common throughout Africa. These may be stated as "the instability, the expansion (of the towns themselves and of their zone of influence) and the increasing complexity of urbanism" (p. 498).

What is the Church's responsibility in face of such a situation, a situation characterized by:

(i) Rapidity of expansion,
(ii) Instability and lack of permanence of urban population,
(iii) The problem of "arriving at a definition of the extent of urban development" and

(iv) Racial and ethnic tensions, "parochialisms" provided by ethnic groups in the town setting?

In order that the Church be more relevantly related to the existing social reality, the Church must thoroughly understand the phenomenon of the city, which is by no means easy. One must be aware of the problems to be dealt with in this connection, as listed here below:

(i) The growth of the city,
(ii) the density of its population,
(iii) the demographic, ethnic and racial characteristics of the inhabitants, their mobility and the frequency of their contacts with the surrounding area,
(iv) the composition of the active manpower and
(v) the need to define the different categories of socio-economic status.

Needless to say, statistical discipline is indispensable in this connotation.

In the African scene researchers are faced with some additional methodological difficulties because the concepts developed in or derived from the surveys of the Western industrialized cities cannot be used without modification. Take just one example of the concept of "social class". It cannot be directly applied to the African society, because

(a) in the face of the dominant European community, social inequality among Africans does not amount to too much of a problem. Also, the stronger the antagonism felt toward the colonial (European) community, the less will be the friction between the socially unequal elements of the African population.

(b) The colonial powers set "a limit to the expansion of the new social categories" among the Africans.

(c) The "family economic system" persists, even though in a diminished form, and certain traditional relationships continue between individuals who have ceased to be equal in economic status.

These factors working together hinder the formation of social classes among those radically incompatible "groups".

There are some phenomena that need to be studied if one is to understand the city, for these communities are giving rise to new types of social structure, in which the individual citizen can only be integrated by hitherto uncustomary methods. We merely list some of the more important issues:

1) The problem of the inception of social classes (or groups of similar nature) as a result of the introduction of colonial capitalism.
2) Changes in the relationship between sexes, in the relations resulting from family ties, the importance of the relations among neighbours (the role of the "quarter") and those which arise for vocational reasons or owing to the development of an urban type of economy.
3) The far-reaching changes to be noted in religious practices.
4) The influence of what might be called "peripheral" relationships maintained with the different home-districts, etc.

In terms of what happens to an individual African as he moves into an urban center, the most evident fact is that he finds difficulty in integrating

himself in groups capable of satisfying his various needs. Here the problem is none other than the uprooted and unsettled condition of many African town-dwellers. In a word it is the tragedy of de-culturalization.

Seen in this context, the reason for the recourse on the part of the Africans to "make-shift" institutions and organizations becomes unmistakably clear. These take the form of "improvised" subordinate groups arising in urban society, like recreational associations, "friendly societies", associations of people with the same name, etc. At the same time, it explains why antagonism, friction and tension so frequently arise between these groups.

The city dwellers are caught in a complex network of relationships. That is to say, relations between the dominant European colonists, the different foreign minorities, and the original inhabitants are governed not by one principle (i.e. "racial" or "political) but by a combination of various principles, because inequality of socio-economic status covers very considerable racial and cultural differences. It is difficult to distinguish between the reactions provoked by racial discrimination and those due to this socio-economic situation.

Cities, however, do not exist in isolation from rural areas or tribal communities. Reciprocal relationships between the highly mobile town population and the villages is another problem that merits a careful study. The extent to which the specifically urban characteristics were supplemented by the preservation of the family economic system (although in a modified form: semi-urban and semi-rural), recourse to traditional pattern of welfare association, the adoption of religious innovations elaborated in the village, etc. These are factors which largely determine the character of the urban life now prevailing among the Africans.

But our ultimate concern is with man himself. What happens to a man when he becomes a city-dweller is the most crucial question. Hence the importance of the socio-psychological study of urbanized people and the unique significance of the study of the "évolué" (progressive). Such study cannot begin without some sort of working definition of what makes one person a town-dweller in contra-distinction to another who is not.

a) What characterises him as a person may be stated as follows:
   (i) The instability which is characteristic of the town-dweller in Africa.
   (ii) The multiplicity of experience open to him.
   (iii) The necessity for him to show initiative and to adjust himself.
b) Three most striking aspects of the situation are:
   (i) The transformation wrought in the individual by his entry into an economic system founded on wages and profits.
   (ii) The versatility required for dealing with the problems which arise in a constantly shifting social situation.
   (iii) The need for adaptation to an extended and unrestricted field of social relationships due to the multiplicity of contacts with "foreigners".
c) Sociologically speaking, there are several "keys" to the problems of definition of the town-dweller, such as:

(i) Length of residence in town.
(ii) Chief reason for moving to the town, e.g. family pull, financial pull, wish to rise in the social scale, to escape from the traditional way of life, etc.
(iii) Vocational qualification.
(iv) Degree of integration in urban society, whether as an isolated individual or one who belongs to family groups.
(v) Degree of participation in any modernist groups which have arisen in the towns, such as vocational or cultural associations, political parties, etc.

II. "An Experimental Investigation into Occupational and Social Categories in Dakar" by P. Mercier (pp. 510-535)

III. "An Experimental Investigation into Urban African Standards of Living in Thiès, Senegal" by Y. Mersadier (pp. 535-545)

IV. "The Mechanization of Agriculture in Tropical Africa" by A. Hauser (pp. 546-556)

This is an enquiry into the relations of man and machine in agriculture in the Middle Congo, (French East Africa). It deals with the problems involved in the process of industrializing an agricultural system.

The brief section on the social impact of mechanization (p. 551 f) is extremely suggestive to those engaged in the Rapid Social Change Study. Here are pinpointed such problems as:
1) The problem of individual adjustment to machine operation, e.g. tractor-drivers.
2) The problem of securing adequate supervisors or foremen, which is analyzed in terms of the ratio of man and machine and the ratio of European landowner and African workers. It is tacitly assumed that where mechanization is complete, there is less need for unskilled workers, and where mechanization is partial, there arises increased need for a large number of unskilled workers.

Related to these problems is one of a "transplanted" population and their instability, and the question as to how to meet their needs, psychological as well as economic. In this connection one cannot escape coming up against the basic handicap of the native farmers -- the lack of financial resources.

In spite of all these highly complex problems, one cannot be blind to the lasting advantage of mechanization. Our task, therefore, is to find a way to initiate it and carry it out without causing undue hardships to too many people in the process.

SECTION II. EAST AFRICA.

I. "Determinants on the Social Structure of African Urban Population, with Special Reference to Kampala (Uganda)" by A.W. Southall (pp. 557-578

This paper suggests what to look for in similar studies on other parts of Africa. Without going into numerous "dependent variable" factors, the

author's list of "general factors" appears to be almost universally applicable to any and all parts of Africa. He analyzes:

1) The relation of the level of African wage employment to the general level of African economic development in a territory.
2) The relative size of the European population.
3) The positive or negative quality of the reaction of the territorial administration to African urban development.
4) Stratification by race ("the characteristics of a caste structure").
5) Further stratification by tribes.

II. "Some Problems of Statistical Analysis in Community Studies, illustrated from Kampala, Uganda" by A.W.S. (pp. 578-590)

III. "Urban African Social Structure and Working Group Behaviour at Jinja, Uganda" by C. Sofer (pp. 590-612)

This is an exceedingly penetrating study. We here present in brief its outline, hoping that it may provide helpful pointers to those who are trying to understand their own society and the people therein.

1) Social structure in an established society:-
   a) "Social behaviour" is in many ways independent of the precise, idiosyncratic personality of the particular individuals concerned, i.e. it attaches to roles rather than to persons.
   b) "Social structure" means the stable, differentiated and predictable relations which exist between the roles within a given society or group. It must be noted that few individuals play one role consistently or exclusively.
   c) There is a great deal of "role reconciliation" through which an individual adjusts differing areas of his own needs, or compromises between his own needs and the demands made on him by others in accordance with their needs; e.g., i) the different primary groups of which he is a member, and ii) the different institutions to whose activities he contributes.
   d) "Social categories or groupings" are the basis on which an individual differentiates his behaviour.

2) Culture:-
   We find a very good descriptive definition of what culture is:
   "There exists between members of a society a series of signs, symbols and gestures which have a common meaning for them and serve as media of communication and rallying points for sentiments. These consist of such components as traditions, values, beliefs, philosophies, words, concepts and theoretical constructs. These are uniquely related to each other in different societies; the constellations which they form are sometimes referred to as culture-patterns. They can be transmitted through the generations, learned by new members, added to or changed, and shared between the different members of a society.

   "These may be referred to as the immaterial aspects of culture, or as the mentifacts which constitute the accumulated ideational resources of a society. There is a separate, though related, material aspect of culture, consisting of the physical objects the members of a society construct,

control and use, which may be referred to as the artifacts which constitute the accumulated physical resources of the society.

"The mentifacts and artifacts of a particular society are closely related to each other. Some ways of thinking and symbolic behaviour seem to go consistently with the possession and manipulation of particular artifacts, while changes in either the physical or conceptual apparatus of a society seem seldom to be quite independent of each other." (pp.591-

3) Personality in relation to the social structure and culture:-
The individual personality constitutes a system of its own, analytically distinct from the social structure or culture, although on the empirical level reciprocally interdependent with structure and culture.

4) General characteristics of urban African societies:-
Their structures are extraordinarily complex in contrast to more homogeneous societies of the western world and of indigenous Africa, largely due to:
   a) Sub-groupings only loosely held together and rather inarticulate;
   b) Distinctly an "industrial" culture with a "series of sub-cultures" underneath it;
   c) Relationship of the "urban sub-cultures" to their "parent cultures".
   d) The types of individuals attracted to the growing urban society such as:
      (i) Adults who are ready-made personalities relatively inflexible in potentialities of adaptation to new situations (especially true with immigrants from the indigenous societies);
      (ii) The more adventurous of the indigenous, unfitted by the volatile nature of their make-up to function with maximum efficiency in a primitive society.
   e) The fact that members of each major sub-group are reared within radically different familial and kinship systems.

5) Characteristics of Jinja (Uganda).

6) The Action context: Working-group behaviour.

7) The impact of changes originating within industry.

8) Conclusions.

IV. "Adaptation Problems of Africans in an Early Phase of Industrialization at Jinja, Uganda" by R. Sofer (pp. 613-623)

In this paper Dr. Sofer deals with:

1) The problem of new "internal" relationships among the African population as a result of "participation in a rapidly evolving urban, industrial area", that is, not inter-racial but intra-racial relations in the urban-industrial context. For one thing, the man participating in the new society is confronted with new social roles. On one hand, traditional definitions of old roles alter and others emerge over a period of time, and on the other hand, there must also emerge new ways of

articulating various institutions and primary groups. For example, immigrants in towns are forced to "engage in unskilled manual work", for which they have had no previous training and for which there are no models, for no Europeans or Asians have this status. Yet for the immigrant it is essential to make an immediate adaptation in his new work role as he is dependent on his role performance for his livelihood.

2) The impact of European civilization on African communities. Only seven pages (pp. 616-623) long, this part is packed with insights gained from astute observation of the real situation. We here quote a few paragraphs which seem universally relevant to most of the urban societies in Africa.

"Jinja is not a European town, nor an Asian town, nor an African town. It is an urban area whose characteristics are largely a function of an interracial structure. The parts played by the different racial categories in producing the present situation is important for the immigrants mainly in so far as they facilitate or impede their participation and their formation into coherent groups in the existing and evolving social structure.

"In Jinja Africans do not so much "borrow" European norms and integrate them with a body of existing African norms as have to scrap most of the African norms which they have learned as appropriate in different total situations. They have to take from Europeans what is available and easy to take, and build up a new set of norms appropriate to what they understand of the new roles and the new situation in general. Until, and unless, they are able to integrate the new roles and norms into their personalities, problems of social control will continue to be exacting.

"Jinja's African population, with its diverse origins and backgrounds, shows a weakness of kinship bonds and the neighbourliness and similar sentiments which flow from living together under a common tradition are weak.

"Women who are infertile are generally at a disadvantage in African society. But some of the women in the town see that it is going to be difficult to rear and educate large families in the urban area. Some people are thus beginning to think in terms of competing alternatives - of many children with few or none educated or few children well educated. The idea that the reduction of the number of children could be recompensed by a higher level of living for themselves is apparently not yet widely realized. This is probably associated with the fact that there are so few children in the town. The majority do not think of themselves as settling for life in Jinja and this reduces the need to consider family limitation.

"Any change of orientation to a small family system will have many results on interpersonal relations. In a small family system within an industrial organization, distant relatives become less important, husbands and wives are together more and attitudes to children change. There is greater emphasis on personal ambition and achievement and

on the advance and development of the individual personality. But once this stage is reached, it will be necessary to deal with all sorts of new problems. There will be still fewer and looser links with the rural areas and problems of supporting the aged will arise.

"The introduction of a new economic system into the country, the change from a subsistence economy to one based partly on money, modern systems of communication and opportunities for employment outside the tribal area, have irresistibly affected marriage and family life. In general, there is emerging a tendency to regard marriage as a relationship between two persons rather than as an inter-group affair. Men are freer to choose their spouses when they are able to pay the brideprice themselves instead of being dependent on their relatives for this. While the woman remains less free, she now has more opportunity to assert her wishes in the choice of her husband. With economic opportunities becoming available for her in the town, she is freer to decide for herself to leave her husband as she becomes able to return the marriage payment herself. There is an emerging tendency to repudiate the idea that marriage involves the permanent transfer of a woman's person and reproductive power to her husband's kinship group. While all these changes may eventually lead to a conception of marriage which allows more respect for a woman's personality and liberty, the removal of traditional norms and the weakening of old sanctions may cause increased instability and sexual laxity. Any decline in polygamy is more likely to be a result of economic than moral factors for, while polygamy may have been an economic asset in the past, it is usually incompatible with modern urban industrial life."

SECTION III. BELGIAN CONGO.

I. "Observations on the Orientation of Sociological Researches in African Urban Centers, with reference to the situation in the Belgian Congo" by G. Melengrean. (pp. 624-638)

The author advocates the method and technique of "applied sociology". Laying much emphasis upon the importance of the psychological factor, he illustrates the point by a discussion of the évolués, whose problems stem from their spiritual confusion in the course of acculturation. In the discontent of the "educated" Africans, usually expressed as "conceit", "arrogance" etc., one can detect the psychological reactions of an uprooted people, which in turn are closely related to the "improvised associations" in the city.

Also worth consideration are his observations on:

a) The process of crystallization of the collective instincts of the masses.
b) The messianic movements which arise at regular intervals in native colonial societies and
c) the low output of native workers in industry.

In his conclusion the author states that in order to present a true picture of the crisis afflicting native society, in which the town is the focal point, one ought not to devote too much time to purely descriptive surveys. He should rather concentrate on certain facts and modes of behaviour which give a clear indication of the social disorder. The African sociologist must deliberately take a pragmatic standpoint, looking into such issues as the moral sickness caused by rapid industrialization and urbanization, e.g. the loss of his inner balance on the part of the educated African and his

state of bewilderment. Also it is of utmost importance to secure the participation in all the stages of the study of the Africans and Europeans involved in the crisis, and the participation of psychologist and psychoanalyst along with sociologist and anthropologist, that is, the teamwork of related disciplines.

II. "The Changing Significance of Ethnic Affiliation and of Westernization in the African Settlement Pattern in Stanleyville" by V. G. Pons (pp. 638-669)

A statistical analysis of the distribution of various tribal groups and of the westernized sections of the population in the African residential quarters of Stanleyville.

III. "Some Effects of Industrialization in Two Districts of Equatorial Province" by A. Doucy and P. Feldheim (pp. 670-692)

A study of a region in the process of industrialization, with the partial urbanization inseparable from newly developing centers of population, in order to ascertain the motives which originally led the native populations to abandon their rural surroundings.

The Equator and Tshuapa Districts which the author studied reveal an interesting pattern of the organization of the native communities. They include:

a) The traditional areas, divided up into districts and sub-districts.
b) Sectors which are recognizably based on the traditional communities, but which depart from traditions as regards the appointment and powers of the ruling authorities.
c) Areas away from the traditipnal environment, such as
    (i) Extra-traditional centers (CEC) instituted by decree of the Government-general and having legal status;
    (ii) native towns under jurisdiction of the provincial governor and
    (iii) workers' villages and camps.

These divisions of the native community roughly correspond to the stages of migration into European centers.

As regards the motives of migration, the most prominent is the political factor, stemming from the disintegration of the traditional environment. Among various other motives the most important is the economic factor, as one might expect.

The impact of the new living conditions on native workers, especially in terms of social life in the new society, may be seen in the three distinct groups into which Africans can be divided:

a) The elite: the educated and those being educated or the white-collar workers,
b) The artisans: men with independent trades or working in the service of Europeans, shop-keepers, contractors and domestic servants.
c) Ordinary workers and labourers.

SECTION IV SOUTH AFRICA

I. "Urbanization, Detribalization and Stabilization in Southern Africa: A Problem of Definition and Measurement" by J. C. Mitchell (pp. 693-711).

Here the author points out that the problems that accompany urbanization resulting from the introduction of the western economic system are

a) associated with city life all over the world,
b) due to the fact that masses of Africans are being thrown into a situation for which there is no set of prescribed behaviour in their traditions and
c) caused by the conflict of political dogma and economic society.

Mitchell also stresses the importance of clarifying what one means by the terms such as urbanization, detribalization and stabilization. The discussion is little more than exploratory and highly technical.

II. "An Outline of the Political Structure of an African Urban Community on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia" by A. L. Epstein (pp.711-724)

Among other things, this study brings to light how the problem of Luanshya is rooted in a dual system which is given legal expression by the fact that its two townships are governed by entirely different ordinances. The town is made up of:

a) The distinct administrative and demographic unit of the Mine Township (mixed population);
b) The suburban community of Europeans, or Government Township, outside the Mine Township, and
c) An African residential location, referred to as Municipal Location, associated with the Government Township.

III. "The Development of Social Groupings among Urban Africans in the Union of S. Africa" by E. Hellmann. (pp. 724-743).

In three short introductory paragraphs, Dr. Hellmann concisely and precisely reviews the historico-anthropological background of the contact between the Europeans and the Bantus. She stresses how important it is to remember that in the area which later came to be the Union of South Africa, both White and the Bantu were immigrants as late as the early part of the 18th century, the former spreading out eastwards from the original point of settlement at the Cape of Good Hope and the latter pressing south and westwards in their long migration from Central Africa. The Bantu, organized in tribal groups, were semi-nomadic agricultural pastoralists, practising a type of economy which required large areas to support a comparatively small population. To them, family and tribe were the two essential social units, the latter basically an enlargement and extension of the former, based on the same principles of seniority, hierarchial devolution of authority through the male line, superior male and inferior female status. The European colonists were also essentially pastoral subsistence farmers.

The section on Process of Contact is illuminating both historically and sociologically. The point of both contact and conflict was the issue of labour and land-relations; and the primary conflict of interest was between the Government and the Colonists: that is, between the government's attempt

to prevent further expansion of the colony's area, to stabilize frontiers, and to prevent all intercourse between the colonists and the tribesmen, and the colonists' desire to expand, looking to the tribesmen for labour.

Then came the pressure of the Bantu migrants and refugees into the area, which constitutes the background for the emergence of "Locations" and "Reserves".

The industrialization following the discovery of the Kimberley diamonds in 1869 and the Witwatersrand gold in 1886 created a need for Migrant labour housed in compounds in the mining area away from their families. At the same time, the development of secondary industry accompanying the growth of the urban area caused a further demand for native labour to live in town as domestic, commercial and industrial workers. Thus the transformation of the Bantu people from overwhelmingly migratory and unskilled labour to increasingly settled and semi-skilled and skilled labour was initiated. In other words, the townward movement of Africans was accelerated by an expanding national economy that required better trained and more productive workers and more a stable labour force.

The official policy regarding Africans, however, is based on the assumption that Africans are only temporarily in the urban area, and therefore provides no family settlement facilities at all. (C.f. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923).

Urbanization presents its own complex problems. Before going any further one may raise the question as to who the urbanized Africans are and what are the criteria of urbanization. Dr. Hellman suggests the following as important factors in the African's urbanization:

(i) He has severed all ties with the rural area of his origin,
(ii) He is solely dependent on his labour for his livelihood,
(iii) He has had 10 years of continuous residence in the urban area,
(iv) His wife has permanent residence in the urban area,
(v) He has no land rights in a native reserve.

In relation to urbanization there are not a few problems still to be answered. So far everyone has been too preoccupied with more immediate problems, e.g. social welfare and services for urban Africans. But such problems as the cultural effects of urbanization on Africans or the extent of change in social structure are of enormous importance in order to understand both the predicaments and the possibilities inherent in urbanization.

Speaking more specifically on the urban family and its predicaments, Dr. Hellman indicates several things:

1) The family remains the basic social group in urban life, but it is not like the "tribal household".
2) There is greater isolation of one family from others.
3) The family is dependent on the cash earnings of its members.
4) The family has lost its religious function. In fact, most urban Africans belong, at least nominally, to one of the Christian churches or separatist sects, but very few of them are practising Christians. The father no longer acts as the religious head of the family. His religious authority is, however, reasserted on occasions of ritual

killing of a beast offered to the ancestors. This occurs, even among Christian families, when illness or repeated misfortune prompts the family to look for relief apparently not otherwise procurable.

5) Earlier weaning of children and school-dominated education are fostering the spirit or attitude of "individualism" (Contrast the educational function of the extended family in the tribal community).

In this connection, Dr. Hellman points out that the loss of the family's functions to other institutions - the church, the school, welfare agencies - together with the changed economy, has been accompanied by very marked changes in behaviour patterns within the family. For example,

a) The increasing value attached to educational attainment and wealth affects the traditional principle of seniority and relative status position of the sexes. Families in which women are the "heads" are of frequent occurrence in both urban and rural areas.

b) In the parent-child relationship, diminishing control of parents and increasing independence of children are markedly noticeable. Working parents who are not earning enough seem to lose the respect of their own children, on one hand, while, on the other hand, the inferior status of Africans in South African society further derogates from parental authority.

All these factors tend to breed attitudes of superiority, in some cases of contempt, on the part of children and to allow free play to individual motivation unfettered by regard for parental displeasure.

All in all, the problems stemming from urbanization may be characterized as a result of a breakdown of traditional behaviour patterns which has not yet been counterbalanced by the emergence of new norms of behaviour. Viewed thus, the policy embodied in and demonstrated by the Apartheid is an indefensible folly, for it militates against the development of a stable community with approved rules of conduct upheld by public opinion.

With regard to the breakdown of kinship bonds and the emergence of social classes in urban centers, it is pointed out that although customary kinship obligations are seldom observed in the towns, the consciousness of kinship persists. For example, the clan name is still used as a praise name and pride in family remains. Africans will make great financial sacrifices and go to great personal inconvenience to attend weddings or funerals of kinfolk. Relatives in need will seldom be refused help. It is not uncommon to find relatives from the country - a widow of a mother's brother and her children, for example - descending on an urban family without any warning with the simple statement, "We are hungry". Nor will the door be shut on them.

Thus in the town kinship groups have functioned largely as philanthropic agencies for members and served to mitigate some of the worst effects of the poverty and unemployment, which are marked characteristics of urban African life.

Closely related to the kinship structure is the place and role of the Tribe in the Town. At this stage the tribe is neither a geographical nor a political unit in the town. The functions of a chief have diminished greatly in the country. In a town they have no relevance. This is something of a contrast to the situation in British West Africa where, in certain parts at least, the tribe has become the present-day African political organization, and tribal allegiances impede the development of African national consciousness. The

breakdown of tribal exclusiveness in urbanized areas of South Africa is evidenced by the increasing extent of inter-tribal marriage.

There is quite a contrast between the old tribal system and the new way of life. Under the tribal system, for example, the whole tribe shared the same mode of life. The small range of material goods and lack of specialization limited status to social esteem. When rains were good and crops plentiful, the whole tribe feasted. In times of drought, all hungered. Over against this, in the towns, a stratification on the lines of class is emerging. And different ways of life are associated with different classes.

Among Africans, while it is conspicuously noticeable that no "upper class" exists, the division into middle and lower classes is clearly apparent. The middle class status is ascribed on the basis of education and of wealth. Educational attainment, that most prized of all attributes, carries immense social prestige.

Others enjoying prestige, their social class-status notwithstanding and irrespective of wealth and education, are: political leaders, clergymen, sport champions. It is significant that the success of Jake Tuli, the Empire flyweight champion, is regarded as the triumph and vindication not of a single individual but of an entire people. He enjoys immense prestige not alone as a boxing champion but as a national hero.

Another phenomenon that is inseparably connected with urbanization is, as has been frequently pointed out, the emergence of new voluntary associations. In South Africa a vast number of associations are coming into being but their membership composition or their degree of permanence are little known. They may be roughly divided into three different categories:

a) Those directly initiated by Europeans and conducted by interracial committees, e.g. the established churches; welfare organizations; South Africa Institute of Race Relations; Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans; Boys' and girls' clubs; one political party and one political association; a small number of African trade unions (autonomous African associations under the umbrella of a European body); an ex-servicemen's organization; and an interracial women's organization in Johannesburg.

b) Those formed by Africans themselves based on Western patterns: numerous recreational associations; Zenzeli clubs (middle class recreation plus uplift); choirs; professional associations; political associations (e.g. African National Congress and Daughters of Africa); religious associations (e.g. Independent Bantu Churches); welfare associations (e.g. mothers' clubs; National Council of African Women; committees to found and support private schools); economic associations (e.g. Trade Unions; tenants' and stand-owners' associations); and a number of ad hoc associations.

c) Those organized neither on a Western model nor transferred from tribal culture, mainly centering in religious, recreational and economic activities, e.g. separatist sects, a majority of which are syncretism of Christianity, magic and ancestor-worship,

On the basis of her penetrating analysis and comprehensive observation of the existing situation, Dr. Hellman concludes that the manifest drive of Africans towards the adoption of Western social forms is not reinforced by governmental promotion of those educational, legal and political agencies which would facilitate such acculturation. On the contrary, she says, official policy has been designed to check this process. Despite these hindrances, however, the social structure of urban Africans is increasingly tending to depart from the bases of tribal institutions and approximate more closely to Western institutions.